

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6392

INF AMCONSUL HONG KONG RGMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE IMMEDIATE

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 1862

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PFOR CH

SUBJECT: DEATH OF MAO TSE-TUNG: THE SEPTEMBER 18 MASS MEMORIAL
MEETING

1. TEN DAYS AFTER THE DEATH OF MAO WE KNOW HARDLY MORE ABOUT SUCC-
SSION PROSPECTS THAN WE DID ON THE EVE OF HIS DEATH. WE WONDER
WHETHER THE PROBABLY NEXT OCCASION FOR A BIG LEADERSHIP TURNOUT,
NATIONAL DAY ON OCTOBER 1, WILL REALLY TELL US MUCH MORE. A
COUNTRY WHICH LAST FALL SEEMED--DECEPTIVELY--ON ITS WAY TO A STABLE
SUCCESSION AND STABLE PURSUIT OF A LONG TERM DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM IS
TODAY CLEARLY DIVIDED ON MANY ISSUES OF POLICY AND POWER--ISSUES
THJT CAN HARDLY BE SETTLED BY REFERENCE TO THE DICTA LEFT BEHIND
BY THE CHAIRMAN. YET THE GOVERNMENT HAS MANAGED A WELL-ORCHEST-
RATED DISPLAY OF NATIONAL UNITY THESE PAST DAYS, AND IT IS NOT
SO HARD TO IMAGINE THAT GOVERNANCE WILL PROCEED FOR SOME MONTHS
WITHOUT ANY GREAT CHANGE IN THE LEADERSHIP NOW VISIBLE AND ALSO
WITHOUT ANY REAL RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUES. THERE ARE RUMORS, BUT
NO EVIDENCE THUS FAR, OF A PARTY PLENUM IN THE WORKS.

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2. DIGNITY, BREVITY, PRECISION AND PREDICTABILITY WERE THE OUTST-

ENDING FEATURES OF THE MILLION PERSON MEMORIAL RALLY HELD SEPTEMBER 18 IN PEKING. HUA KUO-FENG'S EULOGY WAS NOT A PRECISE CARBON COPY OF THE SEPTEMBER 9 JOINT FUNERAL MESSAGE AND THE SEPTEMBER 16 EDITORIAL "CHAIRMAN MAO WILL LIVE FOREVER IN OUR HEARTS." BUT ITS OUTLINE AND CONTENT PARALLELED -- AND OFTEN REPRODUCED VERBATIM -- THE TWO EARLIER DOCUMENTS. ALL THREE WERE MANIFESTLY DRAFTED TOGETHER. THE DIFFERENCES AND DEVIATIONS FROM EARLIER LANGUAGE SEEM TO CANCEL OUT EACH OTHER, LEAVING THE BASIC MESSAGE INTACT; THE EULOGY IS A LEADERSHIP CONSENSUS DOCUMENT, NOT THE EXCLUSIVE PRODUCT OF "LEFTIST" OR "MODERATES" WITH PAROCHIAL AXES TO GRIND. THE LEFT PRESUMABLY IS HAPPY WITH INCLUSION OF MAO'S MILITANT AND OMINOUS QUOTE -- "YOU ARE MAKING THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, AND YET DON'T KNOW WHERE THE BOURGEOISIE IS. IT IS RIGHT IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY -- THOSE IN POWER TAKING THE CAPITALIST ROAD. THE CAPITALIST ROADERS ARE STILL ON THE CAPITALIST ROAD" -- AND AFFIRMATION OF THE NEED TO DEEPEN THE STRUGGLE TO CRITICIZE TENG HSIAO-PING." BUT MODERATES CAN APPLAUD DELETION OF THE FUNERAL MESSAGE'S CALL TO "ENTHUSIASTICALLY SUPPORT THE NEW SOCIALIST THINGS, RESTRICT BOURGEOIS RIGHTS" AND INSERTION OF THE POST-LIN PIAO MAOIST DICTUM, NOT FREQUENTLY CITED IN 1976, "PRACTICE MARXISM, AND NOT REVISIONISM; UNITE, AND DON'T SPLIT; BE OPEN AND ABOVEBOARD, AND DON'T INTRIGUE AND CONSPIRE."

3. HUA'S EULOGY REPEATED THE EARLIER CALLS:

--TO CRITICIZE MODERN REVISIONISM WITH THE SOVIET REVISIONIST RENEGADE CLIQUE AT THE CORE; AND
--TO UNITE WITH THE THIRD WORLD, "IN PARTICULAR AGAINST THE GEGEMONISM OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES." (IT IS UNUSUAL THOUGH NOT UNPRECEDENTED TO MENTION BY NAME THE TWO COUNTRIES.)
--TO "LIBERATE TAIWAN"

4. THE SOLE ANOMALOUS DELETION IN HUA'S EULOGY, PERHAPS, IS OF THE FUNERAL MESSAGE'S PASSAGE CALLING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF MAO'S LINE ON "ARMY BUILDING", STRENGTHENING OF THE MILITIA, AND PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR.

5. HE DISCLOSED THAT PARTY MEMBERSHIP IS NOW OVER 30 MILLION.
GATES

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